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M I N U T E S

Fifth Meeting of the  
PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD  
November 15, 1951, 2:30 p.m.  
Room 3E924, Pentagon Building

MEMBERS:

General Walter B. Smith, Director of Central Intelligence, Chairman  
Honorable William C. Foster, Deputy Secretary of Defense  
Honorable Edward W. Barrett, Assistant Secretary of State  
(Acting for Mr. Webb)  
Mr. Gordon Gray, Director, Psychological Strategy Board

OTHER PARTICIPANTS:

Department of State

Mr. Vincent C. Wilber

Department of Defense

Brig. General John A. Magruder (Retired)

Joint Chiefs of Staff

Brig. General Jesmond D. Balmer, USA

Central Intelligence Agency

Mr. Frank G. Wisner

Economic Cooperation Administration

Mr. Richard M. Bissell, Acting Administrator  
(Present for the early portion of the meeting.)

Psychological Strategy Board Staff

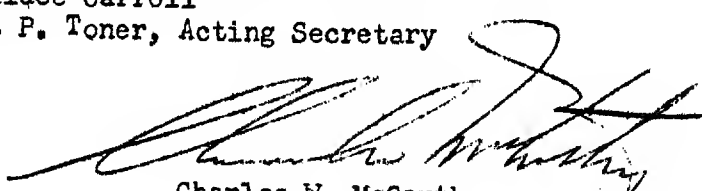
Colonel Charles W. McCarthy, USA

Captain Richard N. Antrim, USN, (Left after Item #5)

Mr. J. Wallace Carroll

Mr. Albert P. Toner, Acting Secretary

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Charles W. McCarthy  
Colonel, USA  
Executive Officer

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Agenda Item 2.- Progress Report on Panel B (Inventory of Cold War Weapons.  
Review of Psychological Operations, etc.)

Mr. Carroll reviewed the objectives of Panel B as stated in the list of problems, August 13, 1951. The inventory of cold war weapons is in draft and is intended for early presentation to the Board. By November 21, the Panel's intelligence study on aspirations of the peoples of the Soviet orbit and possible tensions between them and Soviet policies will be submitted by the State Department for coordination as a National Intelligence Estimate. A study on free world aspirations and possible tensions is expected to be available by November 21. The group also has completed a catalog of sources of national policy, objectives, derived psychological policy and psychological programs, with respect to the Soviet Union. A similar analysis with respect to Soviet satellites has been partially completed.

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✓ Action: This section was approved subject to post-meeting clearance by the Board of new language for paragraph d, page 1, to be drafted by the Department of State in accordance with the discussion. It was further agreed to amend paragraph b on page 2 as follows: delete the final period and add "and to the Director of the Psychological Strategy Board".

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Discussion: Mr. Gray called attention to page 1, paragraph d, as the only instance of policy difference which had arisen in Panel C's preparation of this section.

Mr. Foster proposed "general direction and coordination of the Ambassadors ...". Mr. Bissell observed that this phrase was consistent with a long legislative history and covered activities which cut broadly across the interests of State, Defense, and ECA.

Mr. Barrett felt that in the special situation at hand centralized control is necessary, and that it is unlike some other occasions where the coordination problem has arisen, since it involves the internal affairs of other countries and impinges upon delicate diplomatic and political judgments. These factors, he thought, made it necessary for the Ambassador to have unquestioned authority. The Chairman expressed his personal belief that responsibility for activities would not be acceptable to an Ambassador unless he had the authority to coordinate.

The prevailing view favored language to give the Ambassadors the coordination and general direction of the contemplated activities with the provision that they shall have the right, as in other matters, to suspend action pending referral of the issue to Washington.

Mr. Barrett favored use of the single word "direction" but reserved his position until he could consult further in the State Department.

The Chairman raised the question as to the responsibility in Washington for the activities contemplated. It was generally agreed that this was a matter for the Psychological Strategy Board. The Chairman pointed out that the Board is not organized for quick action at the operating level and said that close, deck-to-desk relationships are required interdepartmentally. Mr. Gray added that the PSB Director and staff are responsible for the coordination of actions directed by the Board and for insuring that such actions are carried out.

Agenda Item 3 - Plan for Conducting Psychological Operations During General Hostilities (PSB D-8a)

Action: 1. Final action was deferred until an early meeting of the Board. After PSB approves the paper, the Director will return it to the NSC for approval.

✓ 2. Paragraph 11 was revised to read as follows: Strike the version at the bottom of page 5 and retain the version at the top of page 6,

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with these changes: in 11a delete "guidance" and add instructions. Retain 11b as it is and amend 11c as follows: "Conduct their operations in the field under the senior US military commander in military theaters of operations, and coordinate their operations in the field with chiefs of US diplomatic missions in areas other than theaters of operation".

Discussion: It was fully understood that all official personnel in a military theater in time of war are under the theater commander. Mr. Barrett explained that the second portions of paragraphs 11b and 11c are considered necessary by the State Department and represent normal government procedure.

Mr. Foster asked that final action be withheld until the receipt of JCS comments, which he said would be expedited. The Chairman pointed out that every effort had been made to take into account the interests of the JCS in the drafting of the paper.

Mr. Barrett suggested that the paper could be subject to future amendments, if required. He also reported that legal advisers in the Department of State believe that guidance is adequate for 11a, page 6, and that "instruction" is inappropriate. The Chairman said that the question goes back to the genesis of the Board itself. He said that the President wanted a level of membership which would mean ipso facto that actions of the participating agencies would follow upon Board agreements. The Chairman also believed that the work "instructions" should be specified in 11a to insure the proper relationship with non-member agencies, particularly any new agencies which might be established in time of war.

Mr. Barrett stated that he would like to point out for the record that there has been a little confusion as a result of the use of the word "guidance" in several places in this paper (e.g. paragraph 6 1 (a) ). Within the government psychological operating fields the word guidance has a common usage as applied to the regular documents which are put out daily, weekly and on special occasions to guide operators on what they should and should not say in output. This, of course, is different from the use of the term "guidance" in the President's directive. Further, he would like the minutes to show what the Director said informally the other day: That the use of the word in this document is not intended to affect in any way the present procedures for issuing information policy guidances to the Voice of America and other operators in this field.

Agenda Item 4 - National Overt Propaganda Policy Guidance for General War  
(PSB D-11/a)

✓ Action: The Board approved this paper with the substitution of reconstruction for "stability" in page 11, paragraph 2.

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Discussion: Mr. Gray introduced the paper and called attention to changes made since the previous draft. Mr. Barrett proposed reconstruction rather than "stability" in page 11, paragraph 2.

Agenda Item 5 - PSB Staff Draft of Paragraphs on "Psychological Strategy in the Ensuing Years" submitted to Senior NSC Staff for Consideration of Inclusion and Reappraisal in NSC 68 and 114 Series

Copies of this paper were distributed to the members and alternates for information at the time the draft was forwarded to the Senior Staff of NSC. No action was required.

Agenda Item 6 - Report on Foreign Reaction to the President's Proposal for an Arms Reduction Study

Mr. Barrett said that the effect of the speech within the United Nations has been generally good. Its propaganda impact on free countries was materially aided by the Vishinsky response, which drew criticism in about half of the speeches of representatives of the free countries. Outside of the UN, the President's speech has also been of benefit to the cause of peace.

Some experts see in the Vishinsky reaction and the recent Beria speech indications of uncertainty and lack of confidence in the Kremlin. Other signs in support of this hypothesis include the unusually slow reaction time of the Kremlin to outside propaganda initiatives.

Agenda Item 7 - Report on the Work in which the PSB Staff is now Engaged.

Mr. Gray presented a brief status report for the information of the Board. The staff study on publicity with respect to novel weapons was to be distributed to the Board following the meeting and he hoped that it might be considered at the next meeting. Preparation of plans for integrated operations for the reduction of Communist power in France and Italy is in progress.

Mr. Gray also raised the possibility of a long-range study by the Board of the subject of a major relaxation of East-West tensions. It was the consensus that this subject should be investigated further before it can be determined whether to undertake the study.

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Agenda Item 8 - Briefing of Functions and Organization of the PSB Staff

This item was postponed.

Postagenda Item:

Mr. Gray stated that after making a careful review of the requirements for staff for the balance of Fiscal Year 1952 and for Fiscal Year 1953, he proposed a staff of 73 for FY 1952 and 79 in FY 1953. He further stated that these figures represent reductions from the staff of 79 previously authorized by the Psychological Strategy Board for FY 1952 and from 99 previously proposed by the Director for FY 1953. The revised dollar estimate for FY 1952 is now \$407,687 and for FY 1953 is \$536,050. However, both of these figures are subject to analysis by the Bureau of the Budget and may require some amendment as a result of such analysis. Moreover, neither figure includes the supplemental pay costs resulting from Public Law 201.

Action: The Board approved the proposed level of staffing for FY 1952 and FY 1953 and approved the financial estimates for presentation by the Director to the Bureau of the Budget.

(End)

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